

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9538

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 8234

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IS, US, UN

SUBJECT: ALLON VISIT: ISRAELI TACTICS AND STRATEGY FOR JANUARY
12 UNSC DEBATE

BEGIN SUMMARY: ISRAEL IS HOLDING FIRM IN ITS REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE IN JANUARY 12 UNSC DEBATE AND IN ITS INSISTENCE THAT ONLY ACCEPTABLE OUTCOME IS U.S. VETO OF ANY SOVIET/SYRIAN RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD CHANGE CURRENT BASIS FOR ARAB-ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS OR SHIFT VENUE FROM GENEVA CONFERENCE TO SECURITY COUNCIL. ISRAEL WILL DISASSOCIATE ITSELF FROM OPERATIVE CONCLUSION OF ANY SUCH RESOLUTION AND WOULD PROBABLY CHARGE U.S. WITH VIOLATING UNDERSTANDING IN MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT IF WE DID NOT APPLY OUR VETO. END SUMMARY

1. IN PREPARATION FOR ALLON'S JANUARY 7-8 WASHINGTON DISCUSSIONS, THE DEPARTMENT MAY FIND ITS USEFUL TO HAVE OUR ANALYSIS OF THE ISRAELI POSITION ON THE JANUARY 12 UNSC DEBATE. CABINET IS SCHEDULED TO FINALIZE ALLON'S MANDATE AT ITS JANUARY 4 MEETING.

2. ISRAELI POSITION. AS STATED MOST RECENTLY IN DECEMBER 28 CABINET COMMUNIQUE, ISRAEL HOLDS THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL CANNOT SERVE AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE GENEVA CONFERENCE FOR THE PURPOSE OF MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS. ISRAEL WILL NOT
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PARTICIPATE IN THE JANUARY 12 UNSC MEETING AND WILL OPPOSE

ANY CHANGE WHATSOEVER, EITHER DIRECT OR INDIRECT, IN UNSC RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338--AS ACCEPTED BY ISRAEL--WHICH ALONE CONSTITUTE A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES ON A SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT IN THE REGION.

3. NO PARTICIPATION. ISRAEL'S DECISION NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE JANUARY 12 MEETING, WHICH WAS TAKEN ON DECEMBER 1 IN THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF THE NOVEMBER 30 UNSC DECISION RENEWING THE UNDOF MANDATE, HAS A TWOFOLD RATIONALE: A) IT OBJECTS TO THE TRANSFER OF VENUE TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL; AND B) IT OBJECTS TO MALIK'S STATEMENT REGARDING INVITATION TO PLO TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DEBATE. DESPITE OUR REQUEST THAT ISRAEL RECONSIDER ITS DECISION AGAINST PARTICIPATION, THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE AND WE DO NOT ANTICIPATE THAT THIS MATTER WILL BE RECONSIDERED BEFORE JANUARY 12.

4. ISRAELI OBJECTIVES. APART FROM ITS DECISION AGAINST PARTICIPATION, THE GOI HAS SPELLED OUT TO US WHAT IT REGARDS AS THE OBJECTIVES WHICH WE SHOULD SEEK TO ATTAIN: A) THE GENEVA CONFERENCE FRAMEWORK MUST BE MAINTAINED; B) THERE SHOULD BE NO CHANGES IN THE TEXTS OF EITHER UNSC RESOLUTIONS 242 OR 338, OR ADOPTION OF ANY RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD HAVE EFFECT OF ALTERING OR SUPERSEDING THEM. BEYOND THESE POINTS, ISRAEL ALSO IS CONCERNED THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO EROSION IN THE U.S. POSITION ON THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION. THIS REFERS NOT ONLY TO OUR POSITION ON THE PLO BUT BEYOND THAT TO ANY CHANGE IN THE TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE. 243 DEFINES IT AS A REFUGEE PROBLEM AND THIS IS WHERE THE ISRAELIS WANT TO KEEP IT.

5. TACTICS. A) THE ISRAELI TACTIC HAS BEEN TO STATE IN ADVANCE THAT IT WILL REGARD ITSELF AS FREE FROM ANY OF ITS COMMITMENTS UNDER RESOLUTIONS 242 OR 338 IF THESE ARE CHANGED OR IF ANY NEW RESOLUTION ALTERING OR SUPERSEDING THEM IS ADOPTED. RABIN HAS PREDICTED THAT SYRIA WILL CALL FOR ADOPTION OF UNGA RESOLUTION 3325 AS A "RELEVANT RESOLUTION" THEREBY IGNORING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IN FAVOR OF THE COMMITTEE OF TWENTY WHICH IS TO REPORT ITS FINDINGS TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL NO LATER THAN JUNE 1, 1976. ISRAEL HAS STATED CATEGORICALLY THAT IT WILL NOT COOPERATE WITH THIS COMMITTEE.

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B) ISRAEL ALREADY HAS STATED THAT ADOPTION OF ANY NEW RESOLUTION AS ABOVE WOULD CONSTITUTE A SOVIET/SYRIAN/PLO VICTORY AND CONVERSELY A SEVERE SETBACK TO U.S. MIDDLE EAST POLICY AND FUTURE NEGOTIATING PROSPECTS, C) ISRAEL HAS STATED THAT IT REGARDS THE U.S. AS OBLIGATED TO BLOCK, AND IF NECESSARY TO VETO, ANY SOVIET/SYRIAN RESOLUTION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE UNDERTAKINGS IN THE U.S./ISRAELI MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT WHICH ACCOMPANIED SINAI II.

7. THE LEGAL ARGUMENT AGAINST PLO PARTICIPATION. ISRAEL HAS SUBMITTED TO US ITS LEGAL OPINION THAT THE U.S. IF IT WISHED STILL COULD VETO PLO PARTICIPATION IN THE JANUARY 12 DEBATE. THE ISRAELI ARGUMENT IS THAT THE U.S. AS A PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL COULD INSIST ON A DEBATE ON WHETHER AN INVITATION TO THE PLO WAS A PROCEDURAL OR SUBSTANTIVE MATTER AND VETO A RESOLUTION THAT SAID IT WAS ONLY A PROCEDURAL ISSUE. THE ISRAELIS KNOW WE DISAGREE WITH THEIR LEGAL BRIEF AND IT IS CLEAR THEY HAVE MADE THEIR CASE SIMPLY FOR THE RECORD.

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7. OUTCOME. RABIN HAS STATED THAT THE ONLY SATISFACTORY OUTCOME FROM AN ISRAELI POINT OF VIEW WOULD BE EITHER A) ADOPTION OF A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR THE RECONVENING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE ON THE BASIS OF 242 AND 338, OR B) A U.S. VETO OF ANY OTHER RESOLUTION. AS THEY HAVE NO REALISTIC EXPECTATION THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL WILL PURSUE OPTION (A), THIS MEANS THAT THEY ARE RELYING ON US TO APPLY OUR VETO. ISRAEL WILL DISASSOCIATE ITSELF FROM THE OPERATIVE CONCLUSIONS OF ANY OTHER RESOLUTION WHICH MIGHT BE PASSED AND COULD BE EXPECTED TO CHARGE US WITH VIOLATING OUR UNDERSTANDINGS IF WE SUPPORT ANY SUCH RESOLUTION.

8. THE NEXT STEP. THE CABINET IS DUE TO HOLD A POLITICAL DISCUSSION ON JANUARY 4--JUST BEFORE ALLON LEAVES FOR WASHING-

TON--FINALIZING THE ISRAELI POSITION. THE MANDATE FOR ALLON'S
DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON PRESUMABLY WILL BE DETERMINED AT
THAT SESSION. AT THIS STAGE, IT SEEMS PROBABLE THAT THE
JANUARY 4 MEETING WILL CONFINE ITSELF TO CONFIRMING THE
APPROACH OUTLINED ABOVE.

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